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Nows

Next CPC leader likely to be announced in virtual event, bringing challenges and potential benefits, say strategists

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

Plans are still being finalized, but thanks to COVID-19, the next leader of the federal Conservative Party will likely be announced in a virtual event, a forced reality strategists say creates the risk of a "lost opportunity" for the party and more impetus for the race winner to hit the ground running.

"The concern is certainly one of this being potentially a lost opportunity for the new leader to share their vision with Canadians more broadly and really get that focus and attention" that typically comes with a leadership announcement, said Andrew Brander, a former Conservative

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Where do WE go from here?: WE Charity co-founders Marc, left, and Craig Kielburger appeared virtually before the House Finance Committee on July 28, as the group probed the now-defunct agreement between their organization and the Liberal government to run the Canada Student Service Grant program. They faced questions from MPs, including Conservative Pierre Poilievre, top right, Liberal Julie Dzerowicz, and Bloc MP Rhéal Fortin. For more on the controversy and the fallout, see Bad+Bitchy on p. 7 and Tim Powers on p. 11. Screenshots via ParlVu

News

Sitting Alberta Senators mixed on planned provincial nominee vote that raises constitutional questions

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

Next fall, the Alberta government plans to hold Senate nominee elections in the first contest since a 2014 Supreme Court decision on the subject. However, an election is likely a "wasted" and expensive exercise, said one constitutional expert, and would almost certainly face legal challenge—an assessment that has divided some of Alberta's Red Chamber representatives.

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News

Parliament should label Uyghur persecution as genocide to foster global support against China's human rights abuses, says former Liberal justice minister

BY NEIL MOSS

Parliamentarians heard from activists during hourslong committee meetings last week who were calling for the Chinese government's oppression of Uyghur Muslims to be acknowledged as genocide, and a former justice minister says Parliament is uniquely posi-

tioned to have a "distinguishable role" in condemning Beijing's alleged behaviour to build an international partnership to counter China's bullying.

The House Subcommittee on International Human Rights heard from more than 20 witnesses over 14 hours on July 20

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News

Deem Indigenous policing essential, boost support for Northern communities to help scrap racism in policing, committee hears

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

Demilitarize the police, defund or divert their resources, adopt nationwide data collection to track race and use of force, adopt true and transparent civilian oversight, and make Indigenous policing an essential service. These are just some of the calls to action repeatedly raised by witnesses during

last week's parliamentary study on systemic racism and policing in Canada

The over-policing and overrepresentation of Black and Indigenous people in Canada's justice system formed the backdrop of most testimony, as did the heightened scrutiny around wellness checks following several high-profile deaths where



Red Chamber posts \$16.3-million surplus



The biggest savings in Senate expenses, \$9.1-million, was a result of reduced Senator spending, helped by less sitting days due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the 2019 federal election. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

The Senate posted a \$16.3-million surplus last year, representing about 14 per cent of its \$114-million budget, a savings due to the reduced sitting days because of the pandemic and fall election.

Canadian Senators Group Senator **Percy Downe** presented the 2019-20 financial report during the July 23 meeting of the Senate Internal Economy Committee.

Reduced Senators' spending accounted for the biggest portion of saved money, at \$9.1-million, followed by \$4.9-million related to the administration, and \$1.8-million left over from Committees and International and Interparliamentary Affairs (IIA).

"Senators spent on average, 74 per cent of their office budget which was consistent with experience in recent years," explained Sen. Downe (Charlottetown, P.E.I.), who chairs the audit subcommittee, with the bulk—\$5.7-million—related to salary expenditures and other office expenses that were lower than budgeted. A further \$1.4-million was tied to Senator travel and telecommunications.

"Even though the average number of Senators was higher than last year, travel expenses were less than budgeted due to the lower number of sitting days caused by the election and the pandemic," he added.

There were 82 sitting days for Senators between April 2018 and March 2019, compared to 62 sitting days between April 2019 and the end of March this year.

For administration, \$2.5-million of the savings came from vacant positions because of departures and \$0.9-million because some planned purchases didn't pan out or were delayed. The IIA surplus, meanwhile, was because it had fewer activities and only \$99,637 was spent of a \$0.5-million budget for the Audit and Oversight

Though the subcommittee tabled both the third and fourth quarter financial reports, committee spokeswoman Alison Korn said they remain internal and that the full year-end reports will be made public once audited.

Sen. Downe also presented a report from an independent external audit of Senate expenses (excluding salaries) for the 2018-19 year.

Auditors are expected to attend the committee's August meeting to answer questions, after which the report will be public. Sen. Downe told his colleagues that auditors said they observed good practices and a high rate of compliance during its testing. Following the audit, the subcommittee recommended the Senate update its procurement policy, audit information technology cybersecurity, and look further into the internal audit function in the Senate.

—Samantha Wright Allen

Past Tory MP Jim Abbott dies at 77



Over 17 years in the House of Commons, Jim Abbott was an MP in the Reform, Alliance, and Conservative parties. The Hill Times file photograph Longtime Reform, Alliance, and Conservative MP **Jim Abbott** died on July 26. He was 77.

The man, who former Liberal MP Glen Pearson called "The Quiet Giant," served in the House of Commons for 17 years representing the Kootenay area of British Columbia from 1993 to 2011.

The six foot and five inch tall Mr. Abbott served as parliamentary secretary to the minister of international cooperation and the

Canadian Heritage minister after prime minister **Stephen Harper** came to power in 2006. In opposition, he was a critic for Canadian Heritage, agriculture, environment, the solicitor general, and the Senate, among others.

"He always met you with a big full smile, a warm handshake, and quickly pivoted to the need to take action on a matter of concern for his constituents or values," former Harper-era Canadian Heritage minister **James Moore** tweeted. "A lovely man. He will be missed."

Conservative leadership candidate **Peter MacKay** tweeted that he was a "fine Parliamentarian, with strong ethics and intelligence."

Ian Brodie, former chief of staff to Mr. Harper and senior adviser to outgoing Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer, wrote on Twitter that Mr. Abbott was a "wonderful man" and a "fantastic MP."

Global News lays off many, citing commitment to 'fact-based' journalism

Global News has laid off numerous lifestyle and entertainment reporters in what it is calling a "significant restructuring."

The broadcaster, which is owned by Corus Entertainment, said in an internal memo obtained by J-Source that the journalists were laid off due to the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as to grow its "core area of focus: trusted, objective journalism and video."

Canadian Association of Journalists president **Brent Jolly** said in a statement that it is "gut wrenching to hear about yet another round of mass layoffs in Canadian media."

"While we recognize that the COVID-19 pandemic has created global economic

instability, it is disheartening to see the jobs of talented journalists are left on the cutting room floor,"he said.

The Canadian Association of Journalists initially said in a statement that 70 had been laid off, but a Corus spokesperson told the journalism advocacy organization that number was "inflated significantly." Corus didn't reveal how many journalists have been laid off.

Some raised concern on social media that the layoffs disproportionately affect female journalists and journalists of colour at a time when the industry is in the middle of a conversation about diversity in Canadian newsrooms.



Gerald Butts has known Prime Minister Justin Trudeau since they were both undergraduates at McGill University. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Gerald Butts becomes vice-chair of Eurasia Group

One of Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**'s closest advisers has been named as the vice-chairman of the Eurasia Group.

Mr. Trudeau's former principal secretary, **Gerald Butts**, started the role on July 1.

The political consultancy firm is led by

The political consultancy firm is led by American political scientist Ian Bremmer.

"Gerald's wealth of experience comes at a time when geopolitics has never had more market-moving relevance," Mr. Bremmer said in a press release. "His background negotiating international policy, running national campaigns, and guiding institutions in both government and the private sector will be a tremendous asset to our firm, and our clients who rely on us

for sharp analysis in a world increasingly marked by volatility and disruption."

Mr. Butts served as Mr. Trudeau's righthand man in the Prime Minister's Office from 2015 until his resignation in 2019 in the midst of the SNC-Lavalin affair. He had an influential role in guiding the Liberal Party to victory in both the 2015 and 2019 elections.

The former president of the World Wildlife Fund Canada has been working at the firm on its energy, climate, and resources team since 2019.

"Really happy to take on a new role with a bunch of the smartest, hardest working people you'll find anywhere," Mr. Butts tweeted on July 23.

Senate appointment advisory board members reappointed

Three members of the advisory board for Senate appointments will remain in their roles for another two-year term.

Huguette Labelle was reappointed the chair of the board and Melissa Blake and François Rolland will remain as federal members of the body.

Ms. Labelle is a former senior civil servant who previously served as president of the now-defunct Canadian International Development Agency. She has served as the chair of the advisory board since 2016.

The three federal members of the advisory board are joined by 10 provincial and territorial members.

Ms. Blake is a former mayor of Wood Buffalo, Alta., and Mr. Rolland was a chief justice of the Superior Court of Quebec.

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Huguette Labelle has been the chair of the advisory board for Senate appointments since 2016. *Photograph courtesy of the World Economic Forum/Eric Mill*

There couldn't be a better time than now to cancel the Safe Third Country Agreement

What this clear and powerful decision does is give everyone concerned, and especially the Liberals and Conservatives, an out.



Jim Creskey

Opinion

It's not often that a major court decision about a highly politicized topic turns out to be a gift to both the Liberals and the Conservatives. The trouble is that it is a gift in disguise and that neither party seems to know it.

That was the case when Federal Court Judge Ann Marie McDonald ruled on July 22 that the 16-year-old Safe Third Country Agreement with the United States violates Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The ruling gave the government six months to comply with its order to scrap the agreement or else appeal it. Peter Kent, the Conservative critic for citi-

Peter Kent, the Conservative critic for citizenship and immigration, put himself into a paradoxical position in a written response to the ruling. He said, on the one hand, that he wanted "to close the outstanding loopholes in the Safe Third Country Agreement," by which he means asylum seekers making irregular border crossings. And on the other, he said, "Conservatives expect the federal government to appeal this decision."

Mr. Kent misses the point that the Federal Court ruling does actually close the border loopholes. Those irregular border crossings—especially the most visible one in Quebec where it meets Champlain, N.Y.'s Roxham Road and the worrisome late-night crossings on rail bridges and windblown winter Prairie pastures—are "the loopholes" that most disturb not only Conservatives voters, but also many Canadians.

Seeing young children drag their suitcases through ditches and young mothers holding tight the hands of their toddlers as they agree to being arrested by the RCMP rather than forced back into the United States looks like a leaky lifeboat kind of operation.

The Federal Court ruling, should the government choose not to fight it, does away with this sketchy and dangerous way of dealing with asylum seekers who are coming from the United States and sent back and detained. Replacing that unhappy status quo with an orderly system of processing and interview—not to mention in these days, COVID testing—at regular Canadian border crossings should happen immediately, not after the six months the court has given the government to fix this problem.

The NDP is strongly advising that the Liberals accept the decision right away.

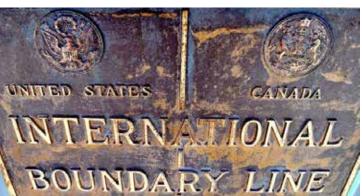
"We hope the Liberals will accept this important decision and not appeal it since too many people have already lost their rights," said Jenny Kwan, NDP critic for immigration, refugees, and citizenship. "The Liberal government must now give notice to the U.S. immediately and withdraw from the Safe Third Country Agreement to stop being complicit in forcing asylum seekers to return to persecution, torture, and even death."

This Canadian court's decision to strike down the Safe Third Country Agreement has been widely reported in the American and international media. Mary-Liz Power, a spokesperson for Canada's minister of public safety, told *The New York Times*, that the government was "reviewing"the court's decision.

If reviewing means reading Justice Mc-Donald's decision, that is certainly an excellent idea. The entire judgment is 15,000 words long and most people would be able to read a document of that length in an hour or less.

What this clear and powerful decision does is give everyone concerned, and especially the Liberals and Conservatives, an out.

For the Conservatives, it means law and order at the border. For the Liberals, it means living up to Canada's constitutional obligations and the prime minster's stated aims for refugees. For all political parties, it means having a workable and compassionate made-in-Canada solution to a growing international crisis.



There couldn't be a better time than now to embrace Justice McDonald's decision with open arms.

Court ruling, should the government choose not to fight it, does away with the sketchy and dangerous way of dealing with asylum seekers who are coming from the United States and sent back and detained, writes Jim Creskey. Flickr photograph by Chris Connelly

Jim Creskey is a publisher of The Hill Times.

The Hill Times

As more businesses and services reopen, we must all continue our efforts to protect each other.



Continue to practice physical distancing, stay two metres apart even in gatherings.



Wear a face covering where physical distancing is a challenge or where required.



Continue to wash hands frequently.



Get tested if you are worried you may have COVID-19, or have been exposed to the virus.

Inside or out, stay safe. Save lives.

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Sitting Alberta Senators mixed on planned provincial nominee vote that raises constitutional questions

With one spot vacant, and another opening in March 2021, observers say political and legal considerations make it unlikely a Liberal prime minister would appoint any winners of the fall 2021 vote.

Continued from page 1

Alberta has held four such elections between 1989 and 2012, with five of the 10 nominees ultimately named to the Red Chamber by two Conservative prime ministers in their efforts to bring about a "Triple-E" Senate, standing for equal, elected, and effective. With one of Alberta's six spots vacant and another opening in March 2021, observers said it's unlikely a Liberal prime minister would appoint an elected nominee, but it could be a question for a future government given the names stand in waiting for six years.

Independent Alberta Senator Paula Simons said such elections are contrary to the Senate's fundamental purpose as an unelected consultative Chamber not held "hostage" to election cycles. An elected Senate would put the two bodies in constant tug-of-war, she said, where now there exists appropriate parliamentary deference, unless legislation amounts to an egregious attack on constitutional or charter rights.

"If you elect Senators, you endow them with the same power as the elected House of Commons and then you are going to forever have two Houses that drive their authority from the same source—in conflict," said Sen. Simons.

Two of her provincial colleagues—Senators Scott Tannas and Douglas Black, both with the Canadian Senators Group (CSG)— were appointed from the last-held elections in 2012 and said they still support that approach. But Sen. Simons said their appointments came before two key shifts: a 2014 Supreme Court ruling and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's (Papineau, Que.) efforts to reform the appointments process.

"It's not that I think that people who have gone through that process are in any way illegitimate, it's just that we have a new process now and we're in the middle of quite a radical transformation in the way the Senate works and these two different visions to Senate reform are in opposition to each other," said Sen. Simons, who was appointed by Mr. Trudeau in late 2018.

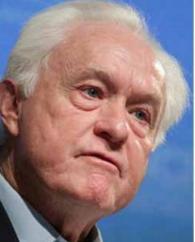
Former Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper hoped to introduce term limits and bring in Senate elections like Alberta, but in 2014 a Supreme Court reference ruled such a fundamental change to the institution would require approval from seven provinces amounting to half of the country's population.

Sen. Tannas said he'd be shocked if Mr. Trudeau appointed any of the province's future nominees, but with terms set at six years, the names that come forward next fall will cross over into a future Parliament, and potentially a new prime minister. Only Conservative leaders have named nominees: before Sen. Tannas and Sen. Black—both of whom support the approach—there was Betty Unger in 2012, Bert Brown in 2007, and Stanley Waters in 1990, a founding member of the Reform Party and first-ever elected Senator.

"To me it is worth doing, it's produced good quality Senators (with all modesty) and I think it adds to the tapestry of the Senate," said Sen. Tannas, adding the "bridge too far," according to the Supreme Court, was anything that "remotely bound" a prime minister to a nominee, which is not the case.

The next Alberta Senate nominee elections are expected to be held alongside the municipal elections in the fall of 2021, said Jonah Mozeson, press secretary to Alberta Justice Minister Doug Schweitzer and a former Harper-era cabinet staffer.







Alberta Senators Scott Tannas and Douglas Black, who came to the Senate after being elected, both support the planned elections while Independent Senator Paula Simons said the move is in opposition to the current 'radical' reform to the Red Chamber. *The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade, courtesy of Sen. Simons.*

The Alberta Senate Election Act, which expired in 2016 and was reintroduced last July and revised as of July 15 to expand when elections could be held, is "based on the principle that legislators should have the moral authority of having been elected," Mr. Mozeson said by email, and that the government hopes Mr. Trudeau will "respect the democratic will of Albertans."

The revised Act limited the number elected to three, reduced the number of signatures required on the nomination from 1,500 to 500, and limited campaign spending to \$500,000—of which 20 per cent could be spent by provincial political parties, which are now allowed to support candidates.

Naming an elected Senator again likely to prompt legal challenge

Because the Supreme Court didn't comment on the validity of the previous elected Senator appointments, the constitutionality of this approach is unclear and would almost certainly face a legal challenge, said University of Waterloo professor Emmett Macfarlane.

And, with a Liberal prime minister unlikely to want to deal with the constitutional headache, he said any elections would likely be a "wasted exercise," also given elections aren't cheap.

While he said Alberta is likely free to hold these elections, "the constitutional question is really, can the prime minister subsequently appoint anyone who wins these elections given what the court said about elections changing the constitutional architecture and the role of the Senate?" said Prof. Macfarlane, who has a new book coming out on the Senate and this court reference.

"It's not clear that the prime minister is free to make an appointment, but it's not clear the other way, either."

Carleton University professor Philippe Lagassé, an expert on the Westminster parliamentary system, said he agreed with that assessment.

Still, if Mr. Trudeau appoints a person who "won" the election, it would be difficult for the court to say that it's clearly unconstitutional, he said by email, because the prime minister has the discretion to appoint anyone who fits the criteria. If he said he'd "only" appoint the elected Senate nominees, that would give the courts more power to void the appointment.

"Suffice to say, we'd be headed for complex constitutional territory here," Mr. Lagassé said.

While a potential legal challenge is likely something a prime minister would consider, Sen. Tannas said it would be an "absurd" conclusion to see this as unconstitutional.

"If you can consult a group and get candidates from a process that involves 15 academics ... if you could consult your dead mother's ghost or your dog like Mackenzie King used to do, what's wrong with taking some consultation from the public of a province as part of your consideration?"

"You're not bound to it and there's ample evidence that there isn't too much pressure on a prime minister to do it," he said, given the fact that only five of the 10 nominees put forward have been named to the Chamber.

The Alberta government's approach is democratic, and "it should be Albertans who decide who represents them in the Senate," said Sen. Black by email, who disagreed with the contention that "non-binding, non-federally imposed consultative elections" could be unconstitutional.

The reference didn't comment on Alberta's Senate elections, or

done by a formal constitutional amendment."

Asked whether the prime minister would consider making such appointments, his office forwarded questions to the Privy Council Office, which supports the operations of the Independent Advisory Board for Senate Appointments.

PCO spokesperson Stéphane Shank reiterated details of the current process, noting that the power to appoint Senators rests with the Governor General and by constitutional convention, that power is exercised on the advice of the prime minister.

Since the process was established in 2016, Mr. Trudeau's appointments have all been made from recommendations put forward by the advisory board, he said by email.

CSG Senator Elaine McCoy, who is set to retire in March 2021, declined an interview because she said it wouldn't be appropriate to comment on the selection of her successor. A former Alberta Progressive Conservative cabinet minister, Sen. McCoy was named in 2005 to the Senate by Liberal prime minister Paul Martin.

Non-affiliated Alberta Senator Patti LaBoucane-Benson, who was



CSG Senator Elaine McCoy is scheduled to retire in March 2021. There is already an Alberta seat open in the Senate after Grant Mitchell retired earlier this year. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

preclude other provinces from having elections and sending winners' names to the prime minister for consideration, but the decision remains with the government as to whether or not to "accept the mandate provided to a Senator-in-waiting by the citizens of that province," he said.

Prof. Macfarlane also noted this distinction, but said it would almost certainly be subject to a legal challenge because the elections clearly go against the spirit of what the court determined.

"Once you start appointing a lot of elected Senators, that would change how the Senate sees itself and functions and that would be a change to the constitutional architecture and that can only be appointed in October 2018 and took on the role of government liaison in the Senate in January, declined an interview and did not respond to follow-up questions.

Still, Sen. Simons said the appointments of herself and Sen. LaBoucane-Benson suggest the Trudeau government's new process is bringing independent-minded people to the Senate. Before Sen. Simons was appointed, she had a long career as an Alberta reporter and columnist, and she described Sen. LaBoucane-Benson, a Métis activist and academic, as a lifelong Progressive Conservative who worked on several of former PC Alberta Premier Jim Prentice's campaigns.

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The Hill Times



This year's Conservative leadership contenders are Conservative MP Erin O'Toole, left, former minister Peter MacKay, Toronto lawyer Leslyn Lewis, and Conservative MP Derek Sloan. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade, file photograph, and photographs courtesy of Twitter and Facebook

Next CPC leader likely to be announced in virtual event, bringing challenges and potential benefits, say strategists

'The pressure is that much higher on whoever is selected the new leader to really hit the road as fast as possible and go out on tour and start introducing themselves to Canadians,' says Andrew Brander.

Continued from page 1

staffer and now senior consultant with Crestview Strategy.

Beyond what the announcement itself will look like, the greater challenge for the party could be timing, with the winner likely to be announced just "a few days before parents are either sending their kids back to school—or not, which is even worse, because then they're trying to figure out what to do with their kids," he said.

"Those are all complicating factors, but at the end of the day I think they're going to attempt to do whatever they can to adapt to this reality," said Mr. Brander, who was part of former Conservative deputy leader Lisa Raitt's 2017 leadership campaign and the Ontario Progressive Conservatives' 2018 leadership election organizing committee.

"It's not going to be the typical 3,000 delegates in a room with giant confetti cannons and balloon drops, right, so ultimately they'll have to look at other ways that they can use digital platforms, audio, video, and other message-type events probably in the week following the announcement to really demonstrate very publicly the unity that will exist behind whoever is selected as the new leader,"he said.

"I think the pressure is that much higher on whoever is selected as the new leader to really hit the road as fast as possible and go out on tour and start introducing themselves to Canadians, because not only the announcement of the leadership itself, but the leadership [race] in general has taken a backseat to the COVID story the entire length."

Pre-pandemic, the Conservative Party planned to announce its next leader at a convention in Toronto on June 27. Those plans were derailed by the outbreak of COVID-19 in March, which forced campaigns to shift to the virtual realm as a result of physical distancing restrictions. In turn, this year's race will be determined entirely by mail-in ballot—not a far leap from years past, when the majority of ballots were still cast by mail—with a deadline of Aug. 21 for ballots to come in to be counted.

Voting is already well underway, and on July 24 the party's livestream of its downtown Ottawa "ballot vault," where ballots from the across the country will be received, verified, and eventually counted, went up online.

While plans for the leadership announcement had not been finalized by filing deadline, Cory Hann, director of communications for the Conservative Party, said "knowing what we know today, I'd say it's unlikely we would see an audience in place for this by the end of next month."

"Even a small-scale event with an audience ... it'd be tough to say for sure, I guess, at this juncture, but looking at the restrictions that are in place, knowing the amount of people it takes just to do the event itself, I think we'd be pushing up close to the limits that are in place as it is,"said Mr. Hann in an interview with *The Hill Times* on July 24.

Instead, he said observers can likely expect a set-up similar to what was done for the party's two official leadership debates, which



Conservative caucus members crowd the stage as part of the traditional show of solidarity after Andrew Scheer, pictured left of centre embracing Conservative MP Harold Albrecht, was announced the race winner on May 27, 2017. The Hill Times file photograph

were held on June 17 and 18 and were streamed online, with only the candidates, their aides, party staff, and the required camera operators, technicians, and other support workers physically present in Toronto. Where that will be was also still to be finalized last week, but it's likely to be "somewhere in the National Capital Region," he said.

For those watching from home, Mr. Hann said the event will "look probably similar to 2017, where someone comes out, announces the results, you get some time to kind of digest those results, take them in, and then wait for the next round to proceed as necessary through that."

"There's obviously options around that that we're considering, as far as how they get presented and what type of roll out we'd be looking at, but I think by and large anyone that kind of followed the debates and the process that led to how those were produced could probably see something similar for the leadership announcement itself." he said.

"I don't think you're going to see a major event like 2017. It will be something more geared towards an online and broadcast audience." Even as some provinces enter a later stage of their re-opening, and limits on indoor gatherings increase—with Quebec notably set to allow 250 people at indoor events starting Aug. 3—Mr. Hann noted that the necessary bodies will fill up available spots "fairly quick, and then at the end of the day, how do you determine who fills the remaining slots if there is an audience?"

It's all part of what the party executive and leadership election organizing committee are "puzzling through" before finalizing plans, said Mr. Hann.

As for when the winner to replace outgoing Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask.) will be announced, that, too, is still to be determined, but he projected it would be a matter of "days" not "weeks" after Aug. 21.

There are four contenders in the race for CPC leadership: Conservative MP Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.), former minister Peter MacKay, Toronto lawyer Leslyn Lewis, and Conservative MP Derek Sloan (Hastings-Lennox and Addington, Ont.).

Ballots are already arriving at the party's vault and work to verify that all necessary paperwork has been included has begun. The actual ballots, Mr. Hann stressed, don't get opened until after the Aug. 21 deadline.

While a winner can still be announced and speeches delivered online, no audience means no cheers or crowd reaction to punctuate the leader's first speech to party membership.

"Any speechwriter will tell you, crafting any sort of speech that has those punchlines is important and you want the crowd to kind of feed off that, you want your principal or your politician to feed off the crowd—all of that will be missing in this current context. They'll be giving a speech to a handful of cameras," said Rick Roth, a former Conservative staffer and now a vice-president with Global Public Affairs.

But, "at the end of the day," he said, "it's one speech."

"It kind of depends on what they do the next day and how they use their launching pad."

Missing out on the traditional leadership convention also means missing out on the hospitality suites, event booths, hallway networking, and unexpected reunions that come with it—and could make the work of post-leadership unification a bigger challenge.

"It's definitely something that I think the party will have to grapple with," said Mr. Roth, though he thinks talk of this race being the most divisive ever for the party—with barbs traded between Mr. O'Toole and Mr. MacKay's camps in particular—is "rhetoric that's used for political purposes," saying he finds "people have sore feelings until the next morning."

"I'm sure that the party's looking at future opportunities to kind of create that dynamic," he said. "Any leader that comes in, their

"Any leader that comes in, their transition team is going to immediately craft a list of influential Conservatives that may have not supported them and I think they'll be looking to reach out and obviously build a role for them going forward, knowing the things that they agree on."

That splash of a post-win speech to an eager crowd was something the Progressive Conservatives missed out on in 2018, noted Mr. Brander, after issues with vote counting threw the convention off course, and saw the party forced to send members home before the new leader was named because it lost its event space. Ultimately, now-Ontario premier Doug Ford was announced the winner past 10 p.m. in a side room of the banquet centre.

In turn, Mr. Brander said he expects the party is looking at the forced circumstances "through a positive lens."

"There's certainly an opportunity for them to actually package these types of things [like keynote speeches and other addresses] together in a way that they could actually make it a lot more exciting for people to watch, a lot more digestible," he said, adding it's a chance for the party to "innovate."

And whoever wins, Mr. Brander said another positive for the party is the experience organizers have gained in "campaigning in this new COVID reality," something he expects will give the Conservatives an advantage come the next election, as "regardless of when that is, it also will look very, very different than the 2019 campaign."

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Opinion

With Gen. Vance on his way out, the door is open for successor speculation

The sweepstakes have begun and pundits are already laying odds on who will be Canada's next chief of the defence staff, but there is no clear-cut frontrunner from the pack of Canada's senior officers.



 $\frac{\textbf{Scott Taylor}}{\textit{Inside Defence}}$

OTTAWA—It was announced on July 23 that Chief of the Defence Staff General Jonathan Vance will be stepping down from his post as Canada's top soldier. There was no "effective immediately"



caveat, so it is presumed that Vance will continue to lead the Canadian Armed Forces until such time as the Trudeau Liberal government has selected his successor.

One can probably assume that with the current distractions, such as the WE Charity conflict of interest allegations, the COVID-19 pandemic, and resultant collapse of the Canadian economy, Trudeau will be in no rush to sit and sift through the CVs of his senior generals. As a result, insiders expect that Vance will keep his job through this fall and possibly even into early 2021.

However, the sweepstakes have begun and pundits are already laying odds on who will be Canada's next CDS.

Vance, chief of the defence staff, announced his pending resignation on July 23, kicking off speculation as to who will succeed him as the country's top soldier. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

There is no clear-cut frontrunner from the pack of Canada's senior officers

While in theory the CDS post is to be rotated through the three service branches—Navy, Army, and Air Force—for the past 30 years this has not been the case in practice. Army generals have been the incumbent six times, Air Force generals thrice, and a Navy admiral only once (and that was only an aborted 11-month term).

During the scandal-plagued era of the mid-90s, the Liberal government of the day actually left the CDS position vacant for more than a year.

One of the contributing factors as to why Vance has no heir appar-

ent stems from the Vice-Admiral Mark Norman affair. In 2017, the RCMP alleged that Norman—then the vice-chief of the defence staff—had leaked government information to a shipyard.

Vance suspended Norman while the case played out in the courts. As a result, the VCDS position became a revolving door, with Norman's responsibilities being handed off in quick succession to Vice-Admiral Ron Lloyd, Lt.-Gen Paul Wynnyk, Lt-Gen. Jean-Marc Lanthier, and as of just a few days ago, Lt.-Gen. Mike Rouleau.

The legal case against Norman collapsed, but the admiral chose a settlement and retirement over returning to his old job. Lloyd, Wynnyk, and Lanthier have also all since retired.

Although the ink is still wet on his new VCDS business cards, many consider Rouleau a top contender to replace Vance. Prior to his current post, Rouleau commanded the Canadian Special Operations Forces Command (CANSOFCOM) and more recently he presided over the Canadian Joint Operations Command (CJOC).

Rouleau's replacement at CJOC, Lt.-Gen. Christopher Coates, is also in the running for Vance's office as he was, until recently, the deputy commander of NORAD.

Then there are the three current service branch heads—Lt.-Gen. Wayne Eyre, the Army Commander;

Lt.-Gen. Al Meinzinger, the RCAF commander; and Vice-Admiral Art McDonald, head of the RCN.

Of those three, Meinzinger has the most experience as a threestar general, with Eyre and Mc-Donald only recently having been promoted to their present rank.

Vice-Admiral Haydn Edmundson is currently the Chief of Military Personnel and could very easily be the dark horse in this race if the Navy is finally to get its turn at the top job.

There has also been some speculation that the Trudeau Liberals will want to be the first to appoint a female general to command the CAF.

To make that happen, there are two possible options. The first would be to convince Lt.-Gen. Christine Whitecross to cancel her imminent retirement and accept a post which she has previously said she is not interested in attaining.

The second would be to promote once again the very recently promoted Lt.-Gen. Frances Allen. Regardless of how capable and qualified Allen may be, such an accelerated promotion over the heads of the more experience male threestar generals would undoubtedly be viewed as blatant tokenism on the part of the Trudeau government.

The race is on and it will be interesting to watch. As for Vance, I wish to take this opportunity to thank him for his service. I have often criticized his actions or inactions in this column, but never without personal respect for the uniform he has chosen to wear for the past 39 years.

Scott Taylor is the editor and publisher of Esprit de Corps magazine. news@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

Successful U.A.E. launch of mission to Mars a symbol of hope when needed the most

The U.A.E. and Canadian space agencies signed a Memorandum of Understanding regarding cooperation in the exploration and use of space for peaceful purposes in 2018.



Fahad Saeed Al Raqbani
Opinion

With the world dealing with a global pandemic—and being faced with life and death issues like never before, the July 19 historic launch of the United Arab Emirates'

(U.A.E.) Hope Mission to Mars truly serves as a beacon of hope for all.

The unmanned probe soared from the Tanegashima Space Center in Japan, headed on a 493.5-million kilometre journey to Mars. The voyage to the red planet will take seven months, with the probe's landing on Mars set for 2021, to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the founding of the U.A.E.

This milestone makes the U.A.E. the first Arab World country to journey into space, and when the Hope probe reaches Mars, the U.A.E. will also be one of only five space agencies who will have entered Mars' orbit (along with the U.S., Russia, the EU, and India).

Mission objectives include creating the first global picture of how the Mars atmosphere changes throughout the day, and between seasons, and why it is losing its upper atmosphere to observing weather phenomena (such as dust storms).

All of this information will help to develop a comprehensive understanding of the Mars climate, and provide scientists with a deeper understanding into the past and future evolution of our own planet—as well as gauge the potential for sustaining human life on Mars or other planets.

The past year saw another proud moment in U.A.E. history

when on Sept. 25, Major Hazza Al Mansouri became the first person from our country to travel to space; making the U.A.E. only the 19th country to visit the International Space Station (ISS).

Major Al Mansouri was joined by U.S. astronaut Jessica Meir, and Russian cosmonaut Oleg Skripochka on an eight-day journey, where they conducted multiple, potentially life-changing experiments on the ISS in the fields of medicine to food security.

Some would argue that just as exciting as exploring Mars, is the U.A.E.'s Mars 2117 Strategy, which aims to build the first human settlement on the red planet within the next 100 years.

In preparing for this Mars settlement, our country is building a CAD\$180-million complex of buildings that will cover 1.9-million square feet. It will be the largest space simulation city ever built, and be self-sufficient enough to allow for a team of scientists to live there for one year.

there for one year.

Termed the "Mars Science City," it will have laboratories to study food, water, and energy development. It will also include a museum highlighting humanity's greatest space achievements, which will be 3-D printed, using U.A.E. desert sand.

Given the like-minded direction of its Canadian counterpart, and

shared passion for research and space exploration, the U.A.E. and Canadian space agencies signed a Memorandum of Understanding regarding co-operation in the exploration and use of space for peaceful purposes in 2018.

This new relationship in space saw a follow-up visit by the president of the Canadian Space Agency, Sylvain Laporte, who led a Canadian space industry delegation to the U.A.E. Global Space Congress last year.

Canadian delegates from 14 space sector companies met with senior officials from the U.A.E. Space Agency and the Mohammed bin Rashid Space Centre to explore collaborative opportunities and conclude contracts in support of the U.A.E. space sector.

With an eye to the future, the U.A.E. has also been engaging with its youth, and developing its science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) capabilities for space applications.

Just one national success story of many is that of Alia Al Mansoori, who at just 15 years old, won the U.A.E. "Genes in Space" competition, with an in-depth study on how exposure to space could affect the health of humans and live organisms.

Her experiment was designed to detect gene changes in astronauts induced by stress (such as that caused by cosmic radiation and microgravity), and went on to be launched in 2017 from the Kennedy Space Centre to the International Space Station.

The experiment was performed aboard the ISS by NASA astronaut Peggy Whitson, and successfully detected stressinduced gene expression, and will likely lead to future methods for monitoring cellular stress in astronauts, and assessing the impacts of long-term space travel at the molecular level.

In another chapter to the U.A.E.-Canadian bilateral friendship story, Alia chose to visit Ottawa on route to the Kennedy Space Centre, and met with Mr. Laporte, and then-Canadian minister of science, Kirsty Duncan.

Alia has since gone on to establish "Emirati Astronaut"—a platform for dialogue between aspiring astronauts and space explorers, and has been appointed as a scientific research fellow at NYU Abu Dhabi.

The U.A.E. is proud of its regional leadership role in space, we look forward to continuing on the path to success, hand-in-hand with the co-operation of international community—where the sky is no limit.

Fahad Saeed Al Raqbani is the ambassador of the U.A.E. to Canada. The Hill Times



Trudeau wants us to believe he hasn't done nothin'—and it's an easy sell

We are amazed, but not amused by all the things you say that you'll do. Though much concerned but not involved with decisions that are made by you.



Erica Ifill
Bad+Bitchy

TTAWA—When I was a kid, Saturday mornings were my favourite: my dad would come downstairs, put on his LP of choice and make breakfast. It was from this beginning that my musical tastes began to form. Quincy Jones, Sam Cooke, The Drifters, a lot of Otis Redding (my dad always preferred the soulful and grittier Memphis sound over the poppy Motown sound), Bob Marley, Roberta Flack, Bobby Darir (yeah I don't know how this fits in my dad's pantheon of greats, but that's my dad) and Stevie Wonder. Revolutionary music was the order of the day, especially Black revolutionary music. One of my favourite songs from Stevie Wonder, You Haven't Done Nothin', features the Jackson 5 and perfectly encapsulates our dear leader and his government. Note that this song was written to describe the Nixon administration (the single was released in 1974, two days before Nixon resigned the presidency. Needless to say, the song went to No. 1).

We are amazed but not amused By all the things you say that you'll do Though much concerned but not in-

polved "

With decisions that are made by you Ain't that the truth. These lyrics describe this government perfectly: backroom dealmaking that results in decisions that favour their friends and the most prominent lobbyists. This was true of SNC-Lavalin and it's certainly true of the WE Charity scandal. And what can one say about this travelling clown car of grifters? This country's government and official opposition party seem to have a cozy relationship with the Kielburgers, so much so they all seem to have ponied up to the trough to participate in a public bathing ritual of Kielburger largesse.

The decision-making process that has unfolded throughout this—yet another—ethics scandal of this government has been aweinspiring. What is clear from Kieran Leavitt's article in The Toronto Star, which outlines the entire timeline of this prime ministerial own goal, is that the decision to have WE administer a student program for COVID-19 was made before the program was formed. I wonder how many other organizations had that level of access before the program was developed; stakeholder consultations are part of the process, however to be the architect of the program and then become the organization in first place to getting the contract is the foxes guarding the henhouse. It's corrupt.

It's not too cool to be ridiculed
But you brought this upon yourself
The world is tired of pacifiers
We want the truth and nothing else, yeah

We do want the truth, not some perfectly curated speaking points that answer different questions with the same answer. And to anyone who thinks this is a political hit job, in other words Trudeau sycophants, this is politics. It's not up to the opposition to stay mum on financial malfeasance or to excuse a PMO that couldn't see this blowing up in the PM's and finance minister's faces—one that obviously has learned nothing from SNC-Lavalin last year. You know, the scandal that reduced

a healthy Liberal majority to a minority (coupled with blackface, of course. I haven't forgotten and neither should you).

We would not care to wake up to the nightmare

That's becoming real life But when misled who knows a person's mind

Can turn as cold as ice, mmm-hmm Imagine once proclaiming yourself the minister of youth and producing this highly exploitative student program with your friends in high places, taking advantage in youth of low places (of power).

The Canada Student Service Grant doesn't even pay minimum wage: for every 100 hours worked ("volunteered"), students get paid \$1,000 in the form of a grant. Ten bucks an hour? Making it rain. Even in Prince Edward Island, minimum wage (as of April 2020) is \$12.85. Imagine saving for university with that paltry sum, especially when the average tuition is \$6,463 per year. Something doesn't add up.

Exploitation of youth labour is quite common. Unpaid internships are an example of free labour, given to employers that help keep their operating costs down, which (ceteris paribus) raises profits. Unfortunately for the student, it costs money to give your work away for free because you still have to support yourself with a paying gig. Students become overworked, stressed, and vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. Much like in college sports in the United States, students are often the workhorses that everyone else makes a profit off of. The Kielburgers are no different. A Canadaland investigation found that many of the corporate sponsors of WE are heavily involved in using child labour to produce their goods.

This exploitation is very gendered. According to the Ontario Nonprofit Network's report on the gender and racialized division of labour in the non-profit space, "The non-profit sector in Ontario is women-majority as 75 per cent to 80 per cent of the workforce is women." So basically, the Trudeau government is exacerbating the gender pay gap by creating and funding a program that

promotes the gendered underfunding of Canada's youth. This is how systemic gender discrimination is formed.

And it's not just women, it's particular women. The Ontario Nonprofit Network goes on to highlight, "Qualitative studies on immigrant and racialized women have found that they may experience lengthy periods of unemployment between precarious jobs and as a response do extensive volunteer work and informal income generating work." These women perform unpaid labour—and not volunteerism—because supporting their communities and support systems is not a choice. And now women of colour have become caught in the prime minister's exploitation scheme. As usual.

Why do you keep on making us hear your song

Telling us how you are changing right rom wrong

'Cause if you really want to hear our views "You haven't done nothin"

Not a damn thing: not for womxn, not for Black people, not for Indigenous people, not for people with disabilities. The only people the prime minister succeeds in "helping" are those from his own exalted circles—the status quo cadre of rich and privileged white men.

Erica Ifill is a co-host of the Bad+Bitchy podcast.



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Editorial

Recognizing Emancipation Day a long time coming and a missed opportunity

As a global spotlight shone on the United States in the wake of the death of George Floyd this spring, light also found its way to Canada, not only illuminating our own shameful past and present with systemic anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism, but also exposing how little Canadians actually know about it.

In the midst of the headline-grabbing Black Lives Matter protests (which are still going on, but generating fewer daily headlines), many American businesses scrambled to prove their ally bona fides, putting out conciliatory statements, and making public mea culpas and do-better declarations.

Amid all of that grandstanding, some businesses went so far as to offer their employees the day off for Juneteenth (in many cases, lastminute and unpaid), the June 19 holiday that marks the day in 1865 when enslaved African-Americans were informed of their freedom. As of this week, further inroads have been made in the U.S., with Massachusetts recognizing the day as an official state holiday.

The day stirred some discussion in Canada and, for some people, opened their eyes to Canada's own history with slavery and its own day of emancipation, Aug. 1.

Now that the initial furor has died down and attention has summarily shifted to the WE controversy, it seems that Emancipation Day is going to pass by, once again, unremarked.

There have been two legislative pushes to recognize Emancipation Day as a holiday in Canada, the day in 1834 when the British Parliament abolished slavery in the British Empire.

The first came as a private Members' bill by the late Conservative MP Deepak Obhrai in 1999. Another attempt at the legislation came during the last Parliament, when Nova Scotia Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard introduced a public bill in October 2018.

Sen. Bernard's bill, which died on the Order Paper at the dissolution of Parliament last year and which she has been trying to revive, notes that it's "appropriate to recognize Aug. 1 formally as Emancipation Day and to observe it as a poignant reminder of an abhorrent period in Canada's history in order to allow Canadians to reflect upon the imperative to continue to commit to eliminate discrimination in all its forms.'

On July 27, Sen. Bernard remarked, through colleague Sen. Jim Munson, that "we have witnessed the pandemics of racism and COVID-19 collide. This is a reminder that although slavery was abolished, we are still fighting anti-Black racism."

Sen. Bernard offered five recommendations to mark Aug. 1:

- 1. Centre the principle of Sankofa— "going forward guided by the past"—in your activities.
- 2. Encourage local representatives and colleagues to publicly recognize Emancipation Day, emphasizing the importance of recognizing this part of Canadian history.
- 3. Hold a vigil and plan an action to help lead change to honour the enslaved Africans who did not live to see emancipation.
- 4. View online events, celebrations, and engage in conversations about Emancipa tion Day. Share why Emancipation Day is important to you as a Canadian with friends and family.
- 5. Share recipes online for "soulsustaining" foods that you are making for your loved ones.

Let this be the last year in which Emancipation Day passes by quietly in Canada.



Letters to the Editor

WE situation 'another Conservative wild goose chase': reader

In classifying the importance of the WE situation, let us not forget that Paul Martin allowed Stephen Harper to manufacture a scandal out of a percentage of missing funds from the "sponsorship budget,"purloined by nefarious folks who had nothing to do with the management of the Liberal program, designed to try to keep Canada together.

The parallels should be obvious. In a program, similar to the way Donald Trump has used each dodgy success to move to greater heights of iniquity, Mr. Harper went on to use the mantra of "accountability" to take personal

control of virtually every public servant's decision process. Good politicking does not immediately lead to good governance.

Let's not throw a very healthy baby under the bus in pursuit of another Conservative wild goose chase. Perspective is something that should be gained from experience. Our elected representatives must pull together and collectively support the actions needed to address the pandemic, the greatest crisis of our lifetime, not bicker over something of minor importance.

Tom McElroy Toronto, Ont.

WE scandal is the final dagger in the Liberals' rule, says reader

It is quite apparent that the WE \$912-million sole-sourced contract was not a non-partisan public service initiative, contrary to what Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has said to the Canadian public.

More than \$5-million had been transferred from taxpayers to WE through grants or contracts since 2017. That's a fact. Then the \$912-million contract, including up to \$43-million to WE for administering the student service grant program. This unbelievable fiasco has hit zenith with Mr. Trudeau, Bill Morneau, and Bardish Chagger as they got caught and Canadians are forensically watching it.

Along with the Aga Khan story, the investigation involving SNC-Lavalin, unbelievable debt (pre-COVID), removal of F-18s from

Syria, the prime minister's disappearing act from a Trans-Pacific Partnership meeting, the \$10-million gift to Omar Khadr, the clown trip to India, a \$50-million tweet to Trevor Noah, \$12-million energy-efficient fridge cheque to Loblaws, holier-than-thou tweets causing an illegal migrant crisis through backyards in Hemmingford, Que., blackface photos while taking a knee and claiming the RCMP is racist, the adventure/fascination that is China, and boy wonder's constant deflection of all the other carnage he has personally caused makes one statement clear: this WE scandal is the final dagger. Time for Mr. Trudeau and the Liberal posse to permanently exit, stage left.

Dana McKiel

Clean water shouldn't be a luxury: letter writer

That have we heard repeatedly throughout the COVID-19 pandemic? Wash your hands. Thoroughly. We are so lucky, as Canada is one of the few countries that has clean tap water. So, for many of us, having to wash our hands is not that difficult because we have access to clean water inside the comfort of our own home. However, this is not the case for people around the world as one-in-10 people do not have access to clean water close to their homes. This makes the effort to combat the virus much harder.

Canada has taken a leadership role to help

raise awareness of how much COVID-19 is affecting vulnerable countries in the world. As this is a step in the right direction, only 0.13 per cent of Canada's COVID-19 response is used to fund global efforts against the virus. So, we are asking the Canadian government to increase the amount they are committing to the global emergency fund to one per cent. Something so simple to us like water is a luxury for most and right now, it is the most needed.

Nimesha Elanko Mississauga, Ont.

Emergency spending means now is the time to transition to green economy: writer

Unless some new economic tool is devised to write off government debt, the deficits being incurred by all levels of government in Canada in response to COVID-19 will have to be repaid. Politicians are counting on future economic growth to reduce the debt to gross domestic product (GDP) ratio to insignificance, was the case after the Second World War.

But if we do not use our present emergency spending to transition to a green economy, aside from the environmental consequences, Canada will be left at a competitive disadvantage in a world moving away from fossil fuels. In times of change, sticking with the past is not a recipe for future success

The signals coming out of Ottawa are not encouraging. During the pandemic, the fossil fuel industry has benefitted from more than US\$10billion dollars in subsidies, compared with more than US\$222-million for clean energy. Meanwhile, Jonathan Wilkinson, the federal minister of the environment, seems content to wash his hands of responsibility to review a proposal that will allow Alberta's largest coal mine to nearly double in size.

As we saddle our children and grandchildren with massive debt, we could at least have the decency to leave them a modern economy relevant to global efforts to avoid climate catastrophe.

Michael Pagé Montague, P.E.I.

EDITORIAL.

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Opinion

Canada handed its bad guy role in Trump's 'America First' election hype

On pharmaceuticals, Canada appears to be the most salient miscreant in Trump's contrived attempt to finally do something about the drug price outrage in the U.S.



Les Whittington

Need to Know

OTTAWA—In keeping with the all-encompassing Alice-in-the-Crazy-House approach adopted by Donald Trump in his flailing re-election bid, the U.S. president is rolling out his plan to make foreigners—namely Canadians—compensate Americans being gouged by Big Pharma.

It's only one aspect of the bad guy role Canada is being auditioned for by the Trump administration and is, in turn, only part of the much wider nationalist backlash the president is trying to incite before Nov. 3.

China is the foremost target, with the U.S. administration blaming Beijing for the coronavirus pandemic amid an expanding geopolitical confrontation. The strategy is meant to impugn the Democrats' Joe Biden for previously being too open to China as well as feeding into the Republicans' overarching anti-China pre-election strategy. Exacerbated by both Washington and Beijing, the result may be an enduring, destructive cold war.

The European Union also continues to figure as an antagonist in Trump's "America First" posture as the election nears. The Group of Seven nations—made up besides the U.S. of Europeans, Canada, and Japan—was recently panned by the president as a "very outdated group of countries."He was lashing out after he had to postpone the prestigious G7 summit scheduled for the U.S. this summer when German Chancellor Angela Merkel declined to attend. This comes as the U.S. is ready to impose an additional \$3.1-billion in tariffs on EU imports. "The European Union has ripped this country off so much, it's unbelievable,"Trump said last month.

On pharmaceuticals, Canada appears to be the most salient miscreant in Trump's contrived attempt to finally do something about the drug

price outrage in the U.S. Faced with an electorate angered by bankruptcy-inducing prescription costs, the president on July 24 signed an executive order that would allow large-scale importation of cheaper drugs from countries like Canada.

Ignoring the option of government price controls, Trump is instead blaming the problem on countries like Canada, saying the measures such nations use to prevent excessive drug prices are responsible for the high prices paid by Americans. "Foreign nations have paid vastly less (than Americans) for the exact same drug,"Trump said in his announcement. "They would pay 10 per cent, 20 per cent, 30 per cent what our people are paying ... I won't name them. They're all allies, right? They call them 'allies.' I call them 'so-called allies."

And as usual, Trump forgets to mention the R&D investments multinational drug companies make globally. "We pay for all of the research and all of the development, and foreign countries pay absolutely nothing, and our consumer gets charged,"he said. "The American people pay an average of over three times more for medicine than the Canadians." He added that Americans as a result are "effectively subsidizing the socialist health-care systems of foreign welfare states."

Promising cheaper imported medicines is an obvious pre-



U.S. President Donald Trump is applauded as he signs a series of executive orders on lowering drug prices July 24. Promising cheaper imported medicines is an obvious preelection gambit for Trump, even if it is unlikely to ever happen, writes Les Whittington. White House photograph by Shealah Craighead

election gambit for Trump, even if it is unlikely to ever happen. It is meant, in particular, to appeal to the millions of seniors in Florida, whom Trump needs to support him on Nov. 3 if he is to have any chance of regaining office. But the powerful U.S. pharmaceutical lobby is fighting it, claiming it would undermine safety standards. And Canada, which would quickly face a drug shortage under the plan, has signalled it would block such mass exports.

Canada has also been set up as a target of Americans' anger in Trump's much-mocked discussion of lobster politics in Maine on June 5. "Canada has been very tough. Very tough. You know why? Because they got away with it, that's all," Trump said. In his appeal to Maine voters, the president slammed the EU and Canada because their free-trade pact eliminated tariffs on imported Canadian lobster. "So, Canada doesn't pay a tariff for the same exact lobster in the same waters. But we pay a tariff. If European Union doesn't drop that tariff immediately, we're gonna put a tariff on their cars," Trump declared.

He promised as well to look at protecting Maine growers of broccoli and blueberries from Canadian competitors. "Canada is given a tremendous advantage over the United States because of the practices of the previous administration and probably others," Trump summed up. "So, we're not going to let that happen."

And even as the new Canada-U.S.-Mexico trade agreement was coming into force, U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer signalled the Trump administration will continue to use it to play to its industry and dairy sector supporters. He threatened to hit Canada with new tariffs on aluminum imports to give U.S. producers a price advantage and made it clear the Trump administration will bring a case against Ottawa if U.S. officials believe American dairy producers are not getting the trade concessions embedded in CUSMA.

And so it goes for the U.S.'s supposed closest ally in a U.S. election year in the age of Trump.

Les Whittington is a regular columnist for The Hill Times. The Hill Times

Acceleration of digital economy is central to Canada's future

The reality is that Canada does not need to make drastic changes to its wireless industry, which remains a bright spot and national success story, even during these challenging times.



Robert Ghiz

Opinion

The COVID-19 pandemic has caused financial hardship for nations around the world, and despite quick actions by all orders of government to assist businesses, families, and individuals, Canada is no exception. Our economy is in recession, unemployment rates have touched record highs, and the federal government's finances are under such strain that the national public debt is expected to exceed \$1-trillion. It would seem to most observers that now is the wrong time to implement policies that could cause the economy to regress even further. But that is precisely what the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) is currently considering.

The CRTC is reviewing mobile wireless services in Canada, and in doing so is contemplating a policy that would force national mobile network operators to provide wholesale access to Mobile Virtual Network Operators (MVNOs)—companies that don't invest in building their own network infrastructure. Part 1 of a new report from PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC), released earlier this month by the Canadian

Wireless Telecommunications Association (CWTA) and commissioned by some of its members, shows that such a measure would have profoundly negative consequences for Canadians even at the best of times.

The reality is that Canada does not need to make drastic changes to its wireless industry, which remains a bright spot and national success story, even during these challenging times. If anything, with the COVID-19 crisis we are seeing how important Canadian wireless networks are to sustaining economic activity and government services, supporting businesses, and driving innovation and job creation.

Our wireless industry contributed more than \$48-billion to Canada's GDP in 2018 alone, and facilities-based operators have invested more than \$70-billion in building wireless networks that are among the fastest and most widely available in the world.

Telecommunications has become one of the planet's most critical infrastructure systems, with governments regarding the acceleration of the digital economy as central to their countries' economic recovery. Canada's successful participation in this global recovery will depend largely on massive new investments in expanding our telecommunications networks to reach all Canadians, and introducing new innovations, such as 5G, that will fuel innovation across industries and public services and ensure Canadians can compete and prosper in the digital economy.

Mandating wholesale access for MVNOs would undo all of that remarkable progress and slow our strong forward momentum. PwC's detailed economic assessment shows it would reduce Canada's GDP by an estimated \$10-billion within five years. Over the same period, tax revenues would decline by an estimated \$2.5-billion and approximately 94,000 jobs would be lost across the supply chain supporting Canada's wireless network operators. In addition, network operators' capacity to spend on operations and capital projects would be reduced by an estimated \$8-billion per year, which would significantly slow down their efforts to connect underserved communities and bridge the rural and urban digital

divide. To the contrary, as Part 2 of the PwC report shows, mandating network access for MVNOs would actually further widen this divide by reducing the effective reach of 5G from 95 per cent of Canadians to 75 per cent of the population, with most of reduction being felt by Canadians residing outside urban centres.

residing outside urban centres.

It should go without saying that these are all impacts that could have a devastating effect on our economy—which is already expected to shrink by nearly seven per cent this year.

The economic impact of the CO-VID-19 crisis was not something any government could have predicted, but it is the reality we must face together. Now, more than ever, Canada should support policies that drive new private-sector investment, create new jobs, and encourage more innovation. Mandating network access for MVNOs does the opposite of those things. It would be a bad idea at any time. Right now, we simply cannot risk regulatory intervention that would further slow Canada's recovery, eliminate jobs, and widen the rural and urban digital divide.

Parts 1 and 2 of the new PwC report—Understanding the likely impacts of MVNOs in Canada—are available at cwta.ca.

Robert Ghiz is president and CEO of the Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Association, and a former premier of Prince Edward Island.

Pining for outside during an indoor summer



Lisa Van Dusen

What Fresh Hell

One of the many ironies of life in this pandemic is that, while nature is probably the safest place for us, our default retreat into quarantine has us pining for it. If every summer has a Beach Boys theme song, this year's is the oddly aberrant hermit lament. In My Room.

The Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) released a report recently touting the therapeutic benefits of nature as a key component of any COVID-19 recovery plan. (Does the term conflict of interest not mean anything anymore?)

Whether you espouse the Shakespearean paean, "Our life, exempt from public haunt, finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything," or his more pandemicpertinent "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin," it's hard to argue with CPAWS, despite an acronym that makes them sound like that Canadian canine cartoon show the White House prematurely pronounced dead last week.

For most of my adult life, I've hewed to the Fran Lebowitz view that "The outdoors is what you must pass through in order to get from your apartment into a taxicab." But as anyone who grew up in the country knows, you never quite lose the hankering to climb a tree if it's been too long.

When I lived in New York years ago, I was much closer to an acceptable selection of climbing trees than I am now. We lived on the upper-Upper East side, just off Second Avenue, between Elaine's and Spanish Harlem. Central Park, Frederick Law Olmsted's monument to urban tree-climbing, was a 10-minute walk. In downtown-adjacent Montreal, Olmsted's local masterpiece, Mount Royal Park, isn't quite as convenient. The view out my window is of other peoples' windows.

As a kid in what was once the summer-cottage enclave of Wychwood, in the capital-commuter town of Aylmer on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River, my physical universe was bordered by the CP tracks up the hill and the river in the other direction (it wasn't really about blocks—in the deciduous-coniferous jungle of Wychwood, the roads were unpaved and tarred in summer until I was seven ... I thought sidewalks were terribly glamorous).



As anyone who grew up in the country knows, you never quite lose the hankering to climb a tree if it's been too long, writes Lisa Van Dusen. Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

It was a small world of climbing the front-yard willow and patrolling a riverfront whose ecosystem was our buzzing, skittering David Attenborough domain; of multiple cats and dogs, pet bantam roosters, one domesticated Arctic hare and, for a sublime, surreal summer when I was eight, a spider monkey (cue *The Way We Were* monkey montage).

It was also a bigger world of two languages—English at home and French at school—and a fairly ecumenical pre-internet cocktail of cultural influences from Wayne & Shuster to Johnny Carson and the Jackson 5, to Gabrielle Roy and the British books and comics my father picked up at WH Smith's on Sparks Street on his way home from the Hill; Enid Blyton, *Playhour & Robin*, and *Judy*.

Decades later, on vacation in a place as far away from the river as I'd ever imagined when consulting Rand McNally to see where in the world I could get to on a raft from the bottom of Butternut Street, I was walking along train tracks with a boyfriend. If you didn't spend years learning to run on train tracks, you may

Protesters gather

on Parliament Hill for a rally against

anti-Black racism

Discrimination,

bias are based on

criteria to determine

ignorance possible,

Times photograph by

such superficial

someone's worth and is the greatest

example of

writes Andrew

Andrew Meade

Caddell. The Hill

and police brutality on June 5.

racism, and inherent

not know this, but it's not as easy as it sounds. The wooden ties are laid at beats that confound both easy single- and double-stepping, so there's a learning curve to it, like dancing. Turns out, it's a procedural-memory skill that comes back, astonishingly, like you're 10 again.

Like climbing a tree. Sigh.
Lisa Van Dusen is associate
editor of Policy Magazine and
was a Washington and New Yorkbased editor at UPI, AP, and ABC.
She writes a weekly column for
The Hill Times.

The Hill Times

Racism poisons Canada's future

It is counterproductive to discriminate against anyone on the basis of racial, religious, or ethnic background, not only because it denies them opportunity, but because it denies Canada their talents.



Andrew Caddell

With All Due Respect

OTTAWA—Last week, I had lunch with two exceptional young Canadians, Ayanda and Mordecai. It was both enlightening and disturbing.

I have known Ayanda for more than a decade. He worked at the YMCA camp, Kanawana, near Montreal. Ayanda was a counsellor, then a colleague to my children and became a family friend.

He was always a special person. A refugee from Zimbabwe at 18, he excelled at his studies at Concordia University, got Canadian citizenship, and recently graduated with a master's degree in economics.

Ayanda is an extremely cheerful, positive, intelligent person. Extraordinarily enough, among his many talents is a phenomenal insight in analyzing hockey, far better than my own.

I have been encouraging him to move from Montreal and work in the public service. His skills and intelligence would be a huge asset to any government department.

His friend Mordecai is no slouch, either. Also from Zimbabwe, he is a graduate in biochemistry from Concordia and biology from a U.S. university. He has lived in Montreal and Toronto for several years, and will soon be attending medical school in Cyprus. I encouraged him to come back to Canada when he graduates, as we need more doctors.

After going through the pleasantries and talking about opportunities in the public service, I asked them if they ever suffered from discrimination. Once they reluctantly said "Yes," I asked about their worst experiences.

Ayanda revealed that when he first came to Montreal, he noticed



when he was walking around downtown at night, police cars would follow him very slowly. He jokingly said how safe it made him feel, that the police cared so much about his whereabouts.

He then recounted a day several years ago at Winners, when he was looking for clothing bargains and was accosted by security, grabbed by the throat, and thrown into a small room where he was accused of stealing a hat. After his repeated denials, the security guard insisted there was video of him taking the hat. The guard searched his knapsack and not finding the hat, grudgingly let him go.

Mordecai spoke of the day he had taken his Canadian citizenship examination in Montreal. After determining he passed it, he went to a McDonald's restaurant to celebrate. He was sitting down, when a woman came in with the police, pointed at him and he was immediately handcuffed. They told him he resembled a suspect

in an armed robbery the night before. After sitting in a police car for several minutes, he was let go, without an apology or any follow-up. Not the best way to say "Congratulations on becoming a citizen."

I put myself in their position: I would have been enraged. I might have sued for false arrest or confinement. But of course, as a white man, I would not have been mistaken for someone else, or presumed to be a thief.

As newcomers to Canada at the time, both Ayanda and Mordecai could have thought, "If this is how they treat people of colour in this country, I don't want to live here," and gone elsewhere. But they chose to stay.

The present state of affairs in Zimbabwe is miserable, no question about it. They have family there, and they won't go back. But they could have chosen to live in any one of dozens of countries and made a contribution. Instead they chose Canada.

What struck me about both of them was their sense of equanimity and wisdom. These were clearly traumatic experiences and yet, they showed no bitterness.

The tragic aspect of these stories is they are not uncommon for Black, Indigenous, people of colour in Canada. People with extraordinary skills, intelligence, and temperament like Ayanda and Mordecai.

For Canada to be a truly great country, the skills of every person must be recognized. From the plumber to the economist to the doctor, their talents should be valued.

It is counterproductive to discriminate against anyone on the basis of racial, religious, or ethnic background, not only because it denies them opportunity, but because it denies Canada their talents.

Discrimination, racism, inherent bias—whatever you call it—is based on such superficial criteria—how someone looks or how they dress—to determine their worth. It is the greatest example of ignorance possible. And yet it persists.

People like Ayanda and Mordecai are representative of the very best of this country. We are so lucky they chose to be Canadians. It is in all our interests to not discriminate against others.

We are living in the 21st century, not the 18th. The way our society treats Black, Indigenous, people of colour has to end. Period.

Andrew Caddell is retired from Global Affairs Canada, where he was a senior policy adviser. He previously worked as an adviser to Liberal governments. He is a fellow with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute and a principal of QIT Canada. He can be reached at pipson52@hotmail.com.



Finance Minister Bill Morneau is wise enough to know how his actions look to the real world, not the partisan flock. But even a blind man can see the glaring resignationworthy mistakes that were made, writes Tim Powers. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Why is Morneau still the finance minister? Strategy over common sense

While the finance minister and the prime minister have apologized for their mistakes, those acts of contrition do not seem enough for the circumstances.



Tim Powers

Plain Speak

OTTAWA—Why don't ministers resign anymore when they clearly have erred in judgement and broken their own rules?

That is the polite version of the question I have been asked often since Finance Minister Bill Morneau admitted he had taken a trip from the WE charity organization and had forgotten—his version—to pay WE the \$41,000-plus for the cost of the journey. He wrote a cheque to pay them back on the day he appeared at the House Finance Committee to speak about another error he made, failing to recuse himself from the cabinet decision to grant WE a contract to run a nearly \$1-billion national volunteer program. As has been vigorously reported, one of Morneau's family members worked for a branch of WE and another member was a speaker at events for them.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has also been called upon to step down for his admitted failure to recuse himself from WE-related funding decisions. It is neither surprising that he has been called upon to do so nor strange that he has not. Prime ministers have ministers and staff who, in our political culture, would take the fall for the leader. Equally, the opposition, despite their howls, does not want the PM to go—they want to drag this on as long as they can to rack up political points and drive a forceful negative narrative against their competition.

Add me to the list of people who thinks Morneau is a decent and thoughtful man. He is not an uber partisan and seems to care about his country. Unfortunately, all those things are not relevant in this discussion other than they may lead to a quick rejuvenation after some time as a regular Member of Parliament if he were to step down.

of Parliament if he were to step down.
One of the last Trudeau ministers to step down was Jody Wilson-Raybould—she turned her resignation on her disagreement with the government over whether SNC-Lavalin should receive a public prosecution exemption into her near canonization. She is no longer a Liberal MP, but rather sits as an independent representative.

Morneau, I guess, and the PMO are currently taking the view they might be able to fight this out. We will see if that is the same posture at the end of this week after the heads of the WE charity, the prime minister, and his chief of staff testify at a parliamentary committee. They seem to be adopting an all-too-common practice in our days: fight first, regardless if the error or errors are blatantly egregious; atonement or sacrifice through resignation is a last option.

Morneau, if he is the man of character most people who know him suggest he is, must be savaging himself internally. He is wise enough to know how his actions look to the real world, not the partisan flock. Yes, he and the prime minister may live in this rarefied world where they can convince themselves that even when they err, it is excusable because it is part of some greater good they believe in. But even a blind man can see the glaring resignation-worthy mistakes that were made.

While the finance minister and the prime minister have apologized for their mistakes, those acts of contrition do not seem enough for the circumstances. If former a Conservative heritage and international co-operation minister resigned over a \$16 orange juice, and Nigel Wright, Stephen Harper's chief of staff, went down for a personal \$90,000 loan to Mike Duffy, how is it possible that Morneau hangs on here?

Sometimes, doing the right thing eventually does reap political rewards. But that is hard to do in this day in age in our mechanized political system when the fightback-and-divert strategy supersedes good common sense. That is why Morneau today remains the minister of finance.

Tim Powers is vice-chairman of Summa Strategies and managing director of Abacus Data. He is a former adviser to Conservative political leaders.

The Hill Times

China's national security law aims to silence critics in Taiwan, too

As Taiwan also faces existential challenges from China, we see the value in standing in lockstep with the people of Hong Kong.



Winston Wen-Yi Chen

Opinion

As Hong Kongers face unparalleled uncertainty due to the fallout from China's recent imposition of its national security law, they have turned to the world for support.

Canada should be commended for decisively suspending its extradition treaty with Hong Kong. This move recognizes the fundamental truth that Hong Kong is no longer legally autonomous from

This important action serves to push back against China's attempts to suppress Hong Kong's democracy. The vague and broad nature of the national security law is deliberate; it allows Beijing to apply harsh penalties on virtually anyone arbitrarily, irrespective of the fact that Hong Kong was promised a high degree of autonomy until 2047.

But the law does not merely apply to Hong Kongers. Article 38 of the law stipulates that it applies to "offences" committed by those outside the region, even if those people are non-residents. In effect, this means that China could apply its vague, broad, and arbitrary law to critics of Beijing anywhere in the world.

The fact is that this law violates China's stated commitments and is an attempt to extra-territorially silence critics throughout the world.

In effect, the national security law makes Hong Kong just another city in China. The law is not intended to solely apply to Hong Kong. It is meant to apply broadly to any "secessionist" activity, as far as China interprets it, regarding any territory that Beijing claims. This of course is a not-so-subtle reference to Taiwan.

For more than half a century, Taiwan has stood as a bulwark on the frontline against China's attempts to undermine democracy, international rules and norms, and human rights. As the first line of defence, the survival of a democratic Taiwan is simultaneously crucial and under siege. In this way, Taiwan understands the persistent and escalating challenges posed by Beijing.

In response to Hong Kong's national security law, Taiwan has initiated the Hong Kong Humanitarian Aid Project and launched the Taiwan-Hong Kong Office for Exchanges and Services, which stands as the world's first office dedicated to assisting people of Hong Kong.

These efforts are geared toward integrating Hong Kongers who choose to flee to Taiwan into Taiwanese society, while simultaneously supporting the humanitarian needs of the territory's inhabitants.



China's use of authoritarian rule to trample on democracy and human rights proves that autocracy and democracy are incompatible, and if left unabated, China is on a path toward an inevitable ideological clash with the free world, writes Taiwan Representative Winston Wen-yi Chen. Flickr photograph by renfeng tang

These actions and the strong public pronouncements from President Tsai Ing-Wen and her government demonstrate Taiwan's unwavering commitment to the values that underpin the democratic world order. As Taiwan also faces existential challenges from China, we see the value in standing in lockstep with the people of Hong Kong.

However, China has now moved to further limit Taiwan's ability to engage with Hong Kong. China's insistence that Taiwanese officials of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Hong Kong must sign the "one China" statement as a condition of stay in Hong Kong. China is attempting to effectively put pressure on Taiwan to close its de facto consulate in the city.

Ultimately, as this and other cases show, the "one country, two systems" framework has failed, and this failure has laid bare a harsh reality. China's use of authoritarian rule to trample on democracy and human rights proves that autocracy and democracy are incompatible, and if left unabated, China is on a path toward an inevitable ideological clash with the free world.

Indeed, if no countermeasures are taken, Beijing will spread its autocratic system even further, reshaping the international order in its image. The national security law serves as a test of resolve; it is our hope that the international community will recognize the true nature of this autocratic regime and engage in concerted opposition.

By standing up for Hong Kong, we stand up for the principles of democracy, human rights, and freedom more broadly. Those who stand in solidarity with Hong Kong also stand up for Taiwan. When we defend the democratic rights of one people, we inherently are standing for the democratic rights of all peoples.

It is in this spirit that Taiwan will continue to work with like-minded partners in the defence of a rules-based international order in which countries must adhere to their commitments and respect the will of their people.

This all starts with redoubling our firm commitment to Hong Kong and its people. Failure to take necessary countermeasures right now will come at an incalculable cost to Hong Kong, then Taiwan, and ultimately, the world.

Winston Wen-yi Chen is the Representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Canada.

Parliament should label Uyghur persecution as genocide to foster global support against China's human rights abuses, says former Liberal justice minister

'There's pretty strong proof and testimony that there have been acts of genocide perpetrated against the Uyghur people,' says NDP MP Heather McPherson.

Continued from page 1

and July 21 about the persecution of the Uyghurs. Many said the mistreatment and abuse of Uyghurs was tantamount to genocide and called for Canada to take a stand.

"Genocide obliges us all—internationally, domestically, governments, Parliaments, civil societies—and here the Canadian Parliament has a distinguishable role to call out genocide,"said Irwin Cotler, a former Liberal justice minister and now founding chair of the Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights. He told *The Hill Times* that Parliament has set a precedent of playing a leading role in calling out human rights abuses and acts of genocide.

"I think it's very important that governments act in concert, that Parliaments act in concert, as well as civil society acting in concert in calling out China," said Mr. Cotler, who was a Liberal MP from 1999 to 2015. "If we want to protect the rules-based international order—and justice for the victims in China and accountability for the violators—we're going to have to do so in concert governmentally and in Parliament."

"Canada can play a leading role in this," he said, citing the work that Parliamentarians have previously done raising the issue of genocide prevention, and raising awareness of the Rohingya genocide, among other targeted mass killings.

"China has been assaulting the rules-based international order and committing these international crimes with impunity thus far," Mr. Cotler said. "They've been able to do so with impunity because they have been leveraging their economic and political power, and targeting countries one by one if those countries dare stand up to them."

"What is needed now is an intergovernmental alliance, an alliance of democracies, so China doesn't leverage its power and bully countries one by one."

Some witnesses told the subcommittee that it is necessary for Canada to place sanctions on top Chinese Communist Party officials in Xinjiang where there are reports of mass detentions and forced sterilization of the Uyghur population.

The Associated Press reported on a systematic program to reduce the Muslim population in China, with the government enacting population control measures, which included IUDs and sterilization.

Adrian Zenz, a senior fellow in China studies at the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation, told the subcommittee that in 2018, 80 per cent of new IUDs in China were placed in Xinjiang, which only makes up 1.8 per cent of China's population.

The Chinese government has long held that human rights abuses aren't taking place in Xinjiang and have called the alleged detention facilities "vocational education and training centres" that are being used to combat terrorism.

being used to combat terrorism.
University of Ottawa international law professor Errol
Mendes, who appeared virtually before the subcommittee, said
Canada should apply Magnitsky sanctions on the "chief planners of the detention." He said that should be Xinjiang regional government chairman Shohrat
Zakir and Xinjiang Communist
Party Secretary Chen Quanguo, a member of the politburo.



who was a Liberal MP from 1999 to 2015, says it is important that likeminded countries act in partnership to counteract the bullying of the Chinese government. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Irwin Cotler,

Prof. Mendes told *The Hill Times* that imposing sanctions would prove that Canada is not staying silent and is upholding its commitment as a party to the United Nations Genocide Convention.

He added that the sanctions will "probably not" have tangible results in the short run. In spite of that, Prof. Mendes said when countries have "sufficient proof" that a genocide is taking place, "they must act."

Magnitsky sanctions have already been applied on Chinese Communist Party officials in Xinjiang by the U.S., including on Mr. Chen.

Prof. Mendes said other levers can also be used, such as stopping companies from purchasing products in their supply lines from Xinjiang, which have reportedly been made through forced labour.

He said that a motion of Parliament labelling the actions of the Chinese government as acts of genocide might not have impact for Beijing.

"Sending a direct signal to one of the main politburo members sends a message to President Xi [Jinping]," Prof. Mendes said.

Mr. Cotler said a parliamentary condemnation of the Chinese government's mistreatment should include sanctions as well.

"Under the Genocide Convention, there is an obligation to act pursuant to that determination and an obligation to hold a country—that is engaged in acts that constitute genocide—accountable,"he said.

It is the responsibility of Canada and the international community to bring justice to the victims and hold criminals accountable, Mr. Cotler said.

University of Ottawa professor John Packer, director of the Human Rights Research and Education Centre, said that it is clear that China has been committing genocide based on the Genocide Convention.

According to the convention, an act of genocide is taking place if any of the five conditions are met: killing members of a group; causing "serious bodily harm or mental harm" to member of a group; intentionally "inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part"; "imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group"; and "forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

Prof. Packer said it looks "quite clear" that there have been breaches of the convention, adding that "it is very difficult not to draw the negative inference that this is purposeful state policy."

"That would mean that it is genocide," he said. "This is not by accident."

"If China really believes this is all mistaken, they should be entirely open to exposing to international scrutiny what is going on," he said, adding that if there is a dispute, the convention states it should be referred to the International Court of Justice.

Prof. Packer also noted a party to the Genocide Convention has a duty to prevent acts of genocide.

"If we see something happening and we are silent then there are fundamental issues about how seriously we consider this fundamental norm of international relations,"he said.

"Where such cases [of genocide] are quite clear in terms of international exposure, such as the Rohingya, such as the Uyghurs, it strikes me as extraordinary that we would demure—that we would shuffle our feet and look the other way," Prof. Packer said.

He added that a motion of Parliament acknowledging a genocide is taking place would set a "very big international symbol."

Conservative MP Garnett Genuis (Sherwood Park-Fort Saskatchewan, Alta.), his party's critic of Canada-China relations, said the subcommittee heard"clear-cut" evidence of genocide.

"We should recognize that the Chinese state is guilty of genocide in Xinjiang," he said, adding that Canada should respond with Magnitsky sanctions and by addressing the possible complicity of investment in Chinese companies that are involved in the oppression in Xinjiang, as well as imported products that are produced through forced labour.

"All of that flows from recognition" that a genocide has taken place, Mr. Genuis said, adding that both the Canadian government and the House of Commons should make that acknowledgement.

there is a need for principled multilateralism of likeminded countries that follow their own obligations in concert with each other.

"What we've seen from the government is occasional words but no actions," Mr. Genuis said. "The government has acknowledged the issue of abuses of human rights involving Uyghurs. They have not used the word 'genocide,' they have not used the words 'crimes against humanity.' In other words,

they haven't used words that carry international legal significance."

In a brief to the International Human Rights Subcommittee, Global Affairs noted that Canada is "deeply concerned" about human rights abuses against Uyghurs by Chinese officials.

Canada is urging that Beijing release "Uyghurs and other Muslims who have been detained arbitrarily—based on their ethnicity and religion."

"Publicly and privately, in multilateral fora as well as in bilateral dialogues, Canada has consistently called the Chinese government to address repression in Xinjiang," the brief notes.

Mr. Genuis said the government hasn't addressed the issue in areas that have "legal weight."

NDP MP Heather McPherson (Edmonton Strathcona, Alta.), her party's representative on the International Human Rights Subcommittee, said the committee will release a statement on the meetings in early August.

"I think what we pretty universally agreed upon is that there needs to be more done," she said. "We need to take a stronger stance to ensure that we are protecting human rights around the world. It doesn't matter where it happens, the rule of law and the protection of human rights is vital."

Ms. McPherson wouldn't say whether the subcommittee meetings will lead to a recognition by Parliament that acts of genocide have taken place.

"I will say that the testimony that we heard—the very credible witnesses that we heard from, the survivors that we heard from—there's pretty strong proof and testimony that there have been acts of genocide perpetrated against the Uyghur people," she said.

She added that it is vital to figure out a strategy to re-engage on the world stage to jointly address China's human rights record.

"We're not ever going to want to do this alone. ... We're never going to want to take giant steps by ourselves. I think we want to work with our multilateral partners and we want to work with our likeminded allies and use those tools at our disposal to put some pressure on China to come back to the side of international law, to come back to the side of protection of human rights."

nmoss@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

Deem Indigenous policing essential, boost support for Northern communities to help scrap racism in policing, committee hears

Police are 'being unfairly spotlighted' in a bigger conversation about systemic racism that happens in all arrays of society, says National Police Federation president Brian Sauvé.

Continued from page 1

the victims were also racialized Canadians.

Diverting some of the money spent on police forces to social supports, especially mental health, was a refrain among advocates, with police heads also arguing that some of their workload would be better placed in the community or health sector.

The question of training to better de-escalate conflict and address discrimination in policing practices came up repeatedly as a point of focus for MPs, but advocates were divided on how much of a difference that would make tackling the issues.

The problem is much deeper than an individual officer's education, said McGill University assistant professor Myrna Lashley, in order to achieve fundamental change.

"We need institutional change. The training is there, but if you put people into a system where the ethos is that it's an 'us against them mentality,' the training doesn't matter. They get hooked into that system," said Prof. Lashley, a crosscultural trainer who has worked with Montreal police to combat racial profiling as a member of their expert committee.

It has to be a top-down approach with police chiefs on board with that shift in how the public is served, said Prof. Lashley, who was one of two-dozen witnesses who spoke to the House Public Safety Committee on July 23 and 24. The study wrapped last week, after kicking off on June 23, with testimony from Public Safety Minister Bill Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.) and RCMP Commissioner Brenda Lucki.

"They have to get back to understanding that they are in fact the public," she said. "I don't think there's any magic bullet."

Senator and former RCMP assistant commissioner Vern White said he thought training warranted a national review and there's disparity in training across Canada's police forces. Among the RCMP, the six-month training period could be longer and an increased focus on education would be an important step forward.

Training in itself doesn't work unless it's deployed with other approaches to combat systemic racism, said Jeffrey Schiffer,



executive director of Native Child and Family Services of Toronto.

"The problem with training is sometimes it's an easy solution," he warned.

Indigenous policing essential, but 'second-class'

Indigenous policing must be made an essential service agreed witness after witness, who said they were encouraged to hear Mr. Blair previously offer the same

The First Nations Chiefs of Police Association has members in 36 self-administered First Nations across the country, but they feel like they're treated as second-class citizens in the policing realm, said president Dwayne Zacharie.

"We've been overlooked for too long," he said, treated with "benign neglect" and expected to be creative despite chronic underfunding. Now, he said there should be parity with regular policing services and they should be recognized as experts in First Nation policing. "No longer do we have to continually justify our existence."

While each nation's need is different, he said their model could be replicated in communities across the country, and perhaps even in urban centres, some of which are home to large Indigenous populations with more than half of First Nations people living off-reserve.

Those ties, cultural responsiveness, and catering police services to align with needs are important ingredients to build success, said Terry McCaffrey, president of Indigenous Police Chiefs of Ontario, which he said has about 500 officers in the province.

"We are not an occupying force. We are the community and the community is us," he said, stressing their choice to rebrand as a "service," making it a more attractive profession.

When it comes to funding, though, the smaller Indigenous services like theirs end up "fighting over the scraps," like when the Liberals gave \$291-million over five years in 2018.

Policing 'under a cloud'

Policing is under a cloud in the public's eye, said Mr. Zacharie, and many witnesses referenced loss of trust following high-profile deaths of racialized Canadians following wellness checks, and the beating this year of Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation Chief Allan Adam during a traffic stop.

"My feeling is police services have lost that trust [with] the public at large and without trust it makes it very difficult for policing services to work well," he said.

The issue personally affects Terry Teegee, regional chief with the British Columbia Assembly of First Nations, who told MPs his cousin recently died while in police custody in Prince George.

He called for a legislative framework to support Indigenous-led policing, restorative justice initiatives, and an independent review of RCMP operations and practices involving wellness checks among a host of recommendations.

The government must also accelerate the calls to action laid out in the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls' final report, said Mr. Teegee, and finalize the action plan it promised to present on the year anniversary of the report in June. Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Carolyn Bennett (Toronto–St. Paul's, Ont.) has walked back any promised date, saying "consensus" is needed first.

The delay signals "very public-ly" the message that it's not a priority, despite the "platitudes" from Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) that the government's relationship with Indigenous people is its most important, said Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI) president Aluki Kotierk.

That matched how others described political movement on progress, with University of Toronto sociology professor Akwasi Owusu-Bempah calling it "almost glacial." Canada needs a national database that captures police use of force incidents among other important race-based data col-

lection, though he worried if not done properly, "it could be quite dangerous."

Police 'unfairly spotlighted,' says union head

Police are "being unfairly spotlighted" in a bigger conversation about systemic racism that happens in all arrays of society, said Brian Sauvé, president of the National Police Federation, which represents about 20,000 frontline officers across the country.

"It is not just a policing issue," he told the committee July 24, adding it's unfair to judge policing services on a few tense, brief moments when an officer is forced to respond to a difficult situation. The union is hearing of more cases of officers being yelled at, confronted and spit on.

Mr. White, meanwhile, said police have been broaching the question of defunding for years, but in a different way, acknowledging that the demands placed on them would be better served by others in the community.

by others in the community.

"RCMP have been a one-stop shop for law enforcement, but it doesn't have to be that way. There are some things communities can do on their own," agreed Kwanlin Dün First Nation Chief Doris Bill, who doesn't support calls for defunding but said reform is necessary. The nation has a Community Safety Officer program that she said helps free up officers and give community members the necessary "conflict-free" support they need.

Mr. Sauvé warned that negative statements from politicians destabilizes community trust and confidence in police work.

"When elected officials offer negative, anti-police comments publicly, and offer unguarded opinions on specific police cases in the news, it is not only unfair and irresponsible but also contributes to sensationalized media coverage that negatively impacts public safety."

Liberal MP Greg Fergus (Hull-Aylmer, Que.) pushed back, saying it's entirely reasonable for politicians to examine and put a spotlight on policing "for the simple reason that we give licence to our police services to use lethal force and, as a Black man who runs comparatively 700 per cent risk of suffering lethally for the use of force just because of the colour of my skin," that he, personally, would question the issue.

Northern communities need extra support

Three witnesses from the North said Canada needs to overhaul how policing happens in Nunavut, where Inuit are four times as likely to be charged as other Canadians, and more likely to be prosecuted, convicted, sentenced to jail time, and serve longer sentences, said Benson Cowan, CEO of Legal Services Board of Nunavut.

It's clear senior management are "unable to drive change and respond" given the current situation, said Mr. Cowan, who called for increased resources for restorative justice, and bringing in meaningful, robust and independent oversight.

Evidence of systemic discrimination against Inuit is "overwhelming," said Mr. Cowan, adding it's really clear that a new model is needed. That means increasing resources for frontline policing where the conditions rank and file officers face are "unbelievably arduous and stressful."

Sen. White spent 19 of his 25 years in the RCMP spread across the three northern territories and northern Labrador. He agreed the short stints officers do in the North don't help build relations, but said addressing the dearth of postings requires a Nunavut-focused recruitment strategy to address barriers, none of which are inexpensive.

RCMP were "instrumental" in forced relocations, sending children to residential schools, and slaughters of sled dogs, and that complex history follows the strained relationship today, said NTI's Ms. Kotierk, who noted there have been at least 15 deaths "at the hands of" RCMP since 1999 in the territory. She, too, called for an independent oversight model, more Inuit RCMP officers, better cultural training, and work to strengthen trust, in part, by staying longer in communities.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami president Natan Obed said police rarely have a clear connection to the communities they serve in the North, where said the situation is "grim." Too often, Inuit are policed through stereotypes, said Mr. Obed, and not seen as people but through the negative lenses that general Canadian society thinks of Inuit.

"Very clearly racism kills and the misunderstandings or the cultural differences or the lack of respect leads to this and ultimately I just can't accept that I live in a country where a part of our government services is killing our people,"he said.

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PSPC Minister Anand adds Indigenous policy and procurement director

Cheryl Cardinal has a new job in Public Services and **Procurement Minister** Anita Anand's office.

heryl Cardinal recently switched offices, exiting her post as director of Indigenous relations and reconciliation in Natural Resources Minister Seamus O'Regan's office to join Public Services and Procurement Minister Anita Anand's team.

In Ms. Anand's office, Ms. Cardinal has taken on the title of director of Indigenous policy and procurement.

Ms. Anand's ministerial mandate letter includes instruction to work with the minister of Indigenous services and the Treasury Board president to achieve a target of having "at least" five per cent of federal contracts be "awarded to businesses managed and led by Indigenous peoples."

The federal government has been reviewing its approach to Indigenous participation in procurement since 2016, and held public consultations last year, including regional roundtables and one-on-one meetings. In January, the government released its "Better Buying" plan, which, along with the five per cent target for Indigenous procurement "by the end of the next five years," also specified that PSPC, in co-ordination with Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, is encouraging departments to "procure more than \$1-million annually to find ways to increase the value of contracts awarded to Indigenous businesses.

Up until she joined Ms. Anand's team in June, Ms. Cardinal had spent almost two and a half years working for the natural resources minister, starting under then-minister Jim Carr in February 2018. Among other issues, she was in the office through its efforts to redo consultations with Indigenous peoples over the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion project, after the Federal Court of Appeal struck down the government's approval of the project in August 2018, citing in part inadequate consultations with Indigenous peoples. Her exit came just ahead of the Supreme Court of Canada's



Cheryl Cardinal has been working on the Hill since early 2018. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn



Public Services and Procurement Minister Anita Anand, pictured briefing media in the West Block on July 21. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

July 2 ruling to dismiss a request for leave to appeal the government's reapproval of the project launched by a number of B.C. First Nations groups.

Before coming to work on the Hill, Ms. Cardinal was president and chief executive officer of the Indigenous Center of Energy in Sucker Creek Cree Nation, and a member of the board of Alberta's Environmental Refuelling Systems Inc.

She's also a former manager of policy, planning, and business development with the National Energy Business Centre of Excellence, which she later oversaw as director, among other past roles. The centre was created in 2008 by the Indian Resources Council, which has signalled intent to facilitate a bid to purchase the Trans Mountain pipeline from the federal government.

Leslie Church is chief of staff to Ms. Anand, with Boyan Gerasimov in place as director of policy, supported by senior policy advisers Kelly Murdock, Anthony Laporte, and Joel Tallerico; policy adviser Chukky Ibe; and policy and Atlantic regional affairs adviser Neil McKenna.

Also currently working for the minister are: Elliott Lockington, director of parliamentary affairs; Caitlin Mullan-Boudreau, director of operations; James Fitz-Morris, director of communica-Cecely Roy, press Parmar, special assistant for Ontario regional affairs; Madison Taipalus, special assistant for Western and Northern regional affairs; Tristan Laycock, legislative assistant and issues manager; Nanki Singh, executive assistant to the minister; Tyler Freeman, special assistant and executive assistant to Ms. Church; and Chelsea Kusnick, assistant to the minister's parliamentary secretary, Liberal MP Steven MacKinnon.

lrvckewaert@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

Events Feature



Conservative, Green leadership events to showcase candidates on July 29 and 30

WEDNESDAY, JULY 29

House Not Sitting—The House has not met regularly since mid-March, when it was suspended amid the COVID-19 pandemic. The regular summer recess was scheduled to begin on June 24, but MPs agreed to meet as a committee of the whole on July 8, July 22, Aug. 12, and Aug. 26. The House is then scheduled to return in the fall on Monday, Sept. 21, for three straight weeks, as per the original House sitting calendar

Senate Not Sitting—The Senate is adjourned until Sept. 22.

Enhancing Canada-Pakistan Bilateral Trade—Minister of Small Business, Export Promotion, and International Trade Mary Ng will take part in a webinar on "Enhancing Canada-Pakistan Bilateral Trade," hosted by the Canada Pakistan Business Council. Ms. Ng will be joined by Liberal MP Salma Zahid, chair of the Canada Pakistan Parliamentary Friendship Group, Dr. Wendy Cukier, founder of the Diversity Institute; and Rocco Rossi, president, Ontario Chamber of Commerce. Wednesday, July 29, from 10:30-11:15 a.m. Register via Eventbrite.

Brian Mulroney To Discuss His 'Agenda for Canadian Greatness'—The former prime minister will discuss his 10 big ideas for the future of Canada that address major social and economic challenges, including combating racism, Indigenous equality and a free trade agreement for the Americas. Hosted by the Pearson Centre, the moderator will be Brian Gallant, a Pearson advisory board member and the former premier of New Brunswick. This webinar will take place at 3 p.m. on Wednesday, July 29. For more information: www. thepearsoncentre.ca

CPC Leadership Debate—The four candidates vying to lead the federal Conservative Party will face off in a live debate, hosted by the Independent Press Gallery. The debate will be streamed on independentpressgallery.ca as well as by Independent Press Gallery members. The debate will be broadcast live from Toronto on Wednesday, July 29, starting at 7 p.m. EDT. Media availabilities for the candidates will follow and will also be carried live. The debate will be moderated by Independent Press Gallery member and True North fellow Andrew Lawton with an appearance by Gallery president Candice Malcolm. Questions about the debate or requests for accreditation can be sent to debates@independentpressgallery.ca.

THURSDAY, JULY 30

Green Party Leadership Regional Town Halls—The Green Party of Canada leadership contest will host six regional online town halls across Canada starting on Monday. The nine contestants seeking the party leadership will respond to submitted questions and each event will feature two moderators. Three provincial Green Party leaders and one provincial deputy leader are among the moderators. The nine contestants are (in alphabetical order): Judy N. Green (N.S.), Meryam Haddad (Quebec), Courtney Howard (N.W.T.), Amita Kuttner (B.C.), Dimitri Lascaris (Quebec), David Merner (B.C.), Glen Murray (Manitoba), Annamie Paul (Ontario), and Andrew West (Ontario). Atlantic: Thursday, July 23, 7 p.m.-8:30 p.m. ADT; North: Monday, July 27, 7-8:30 p.m. CDT; British Columbia: Tuesday, July 28, 7-8:30 p.m. PDT; Ontario: Thursday, July 30, 7-8:30 p.m. EDT. Register at greenparty.ca

FRIDAY, JULY 31—SATURDAY, AUG. 8

#CanadaPerforms at RBC Bluesfest Drive-In—The National Arts Centre and RBC Bluesfest are pleased to announce they are coming together to present #CanadaPerforms at RBC Bluesfest Drive-In, a summer weekend series of live concerts at the Place des Festivals Zibi site, by the Kitchissippi River (Ottawa River). Concert-goers, as small pods or families, will be encouraged to drive to the site and watch live concerts from their individual dedicated space. In order to safely welcome back audiences to watch live concerts, the Drive-In series will offer a physical distancing experience that respects reopening measures and protocols. Canadians will also be able to watch online the live-streamed concerts. Concerts will take place on Friday, July 31, Saturday, Aug. 1, Friday, Aug. 7, and Saturday, Aug. 8. Tickets on sale now. For the details, including additional dates and performers, go to: canadaperforms.ottawabluesfest.ca/

SATURDAY, AUG. 1

Virtual Camp Parliament for Girls—The Girls in Politics Initiative hosts "Virtual Camp Parliament for Girls," a live, interactive class that introduces girls ages 11-16 to Canada's parliamentary system of government. The class is limited to 12 students, no exceptions. Students are required to register in advance. Students will need a poster board, art markers and glue sticks to create their MP campaign poster before class. Saturday, Aug. 1, from 9 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

TUESDAY, AUG. 4

Defining A Role For Canadian Armed Forces and Humanitarian Assistance In Disaster Relief—Queen's University hosts a webinar on "Canadian Armed Forces and Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief: Defining a Role." Christian Leuprecht, director of Queen's Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, and Peter Kasurak, adjunct professor at the Royal Military College of Canada, will explore the problematic nature of the Canadian Armed Forces' domestic role in both operational and cultural terms, the options available to the federal government, and make recommendations. Tuesday, Aug. 4, from 4-5 p.m. Registration is required for this free event.

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 5

New Normal, New NAFTA—The Toronto Board of Trade hosts a webinar on "Reimagining the Way We Trade: New Normal, New NAFTA." This panel discussion will feature trade and business experts as they explain how CUSMA can be leveraged to help Canadian importers and exporters. How does a background of the pandemic impact this new trade agreement? Wednesday, Aug. 5, from 10:30-11:30 a.m. Register at bot.

a Pandemic—S&P Global Market Intelligence hosts a webinar on "Canadian Politics and Policy: Economic Outlook in a Pandemic," reviewing the decline in commodities markets, the next steps for Canadian financial markets, and the long-term effects of Employment Insurance, tax deferrals and stimulus on economic stability through 2021. Adam Noah, head of government affairs and public policy, North America, for S&P Global, will moderate the discussion featuring Devi Aurora, senior director, financial services ratings, S&P Global Ratings; Satyam Panday, senior economist, S&P Global Ratings; and Kevin Murphy, senior analyst, S&P Global Market Intelligence. Wednesday, Aug. 5, from noon to 1 p.m. Register online at spglobal.com.

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THURSDAY, AUG. 6

75 Years Since the Nuclear Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: We Remember—Aug. 6 and 9 will mark 75 years since atomic bombs were dropped on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing more than 200,000 people. The Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (CNANW) will host a virtual event on Thursday, Aug. 6 from 2-3:30 p.m. EDT to honour the victims of this unspeakable act, and to consider new action to help rid the world of nuclear weapons. Featured speakers include: bombing survivor Setsuko Thurlow; Douglas Roche, former senator, Ambassador for Disarmament; Alain Dondainaz, head of mission to Canada of the International Committee of the Red Cross: Peggy Mason. former Ambassador for Disarmament and current president of the Rideau Institute; Ray Acheson, director of Reaching Critical Will, the disarmament program of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Cesar Jaramillo, executive director of Project Ploughshares; and Michel Duguay, former co-ordinator of the Let's Move Quebec Out of Nuclear movement. CNANW chair Earl Turcotte will moderate. Register via Eventbrite.

FRIDAY, AUG. 7

Pink Tea Conversation with Sally Armstrong—The Famous 5 host the next in its Virtual Pink Tea Conversations featuring Sally Armstrong, award-winning author, journalist, and human rights activist who has reported and written about the struggles and triumphs of women in war and conflict areas. Friday, Aug. 7, from 1-2 p.m. MDT. Tickets available at famou5.ca.

TUESDAY, AUG. 11

COVID, Recovery, and Immigration—Since 2015, Prime Minister Trudeau and the Liberal government have regularly and widely championed immigration to Canada and the welcoming of refugees. Now, as we begin to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic, we must examine how this tumultuous period has shown areas of weakness in immigration. We must also consider how immigration has been affected during the pandemic and how this has affected Canada economically, socially, and otherwise. Join the Pearson Centre and federal Minister of Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Marco Mendicino as we discuss the role of immigration in rebuilding the Canadian economy. Tuesday, Aug. 11, from 2-2:45 p.m. Register online.

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 12

Business Fireside Chat with Minister Ng and NCR Caucus—Minister of Small Business, Export Promotion, and International Trade Mary Ng will take part in a Business Fireside Chat hosted by the Ottawa Board of Trade. Wednesday, Aug. 12, from 11 a.m. to noon. Registration available at business.ottawabot.ca.

FRIDAY, AUG. 21

Conservative Party Leadership Contest—The federal Conservative Party's Leadership Election Organizing Committee, also known as LEOC, announced on April 29 that Aug. 21 is the deadline for mail-in ballots, after the leadership was suspended on March 26 due to the global pandemic. The party says the winner will be announced once the ballots can be safely counted.

The Parliamentary Calendar is a free events listing. Send in your political, cultural, diplomatic, or governmental event in a paragraph with all the relevant details under the subject line 'Parliamentary Calendar' to news@hilltimes.com by Wednesday at noon before the Monday paper or by Friday at noon for the Wednesday paper. We can't guarantee inclusion of every event, but we will definitely do our best. Events can be updated daily online, too.

The Hill Times

Parties of the past

The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia

With COVID-19 putting a pause on diplomatic gatherings in Ottawa, *The Hill Times* is offering a look back with (some never-before-seen) images of celebrations and special events that have occurred at this time in years past.

Lithuania lets its hair down







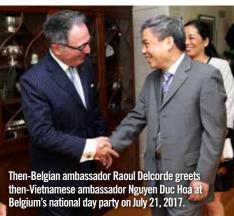
Rwanda marks special occasions







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PART III

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- What's the role of industry, unions, associations, and NGOs in getting the economy going?
- Energy and the environment
- Border issues.

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